

Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

"The God of the Hebrews, then, is not characteristically 'a God of battles.' Compared with the gods of other nations, he is a God of Peace. Yet he has been taken for a God of battles, as well as for a God of slavery, and his name has been invoked in unjust and fanatical wars. Christian churches, in pandering to the lust of war, would apostatize not only from the principles of the New, but from those of the Old Testament."

Brevities.

- . . . A branch of the Bureau of American Republics has been established in the city of Mexico, to be opened during the Conference which begins there the latter part of this month.
- . . . The threatened war between Venezuela and Colombia has not yet commenced, though the situation is somewhat critical. Troops have faced each other for two weeks and more on the frontier without beginning hostilities. The head of the Venezuela nationalist revolutionary party, Dr. Urbaneja, says that President Castro is not likely to declare war against Colombia, as he can not do so legally without the consent of the Congress, which does not meet till February, and which he thinks is opposed to war. As head of the nationalists, Dr. Urbaneja is opposed to war.
- . . . The United States government has opened negotiations with the Bulgarian and Turkish officials for the rescue of Ellen M. Stone, a missionary of the American Board, who was recently carried off by brigands into the mountains of Bulgaria. She was seized for the purpose of obtaining a ransom. One hundred and ten thousand dollars has been demanded for her release. The State Department is doing everything possible for her rescue, and is confident that her release will be secured.
- . . . The Democratic platform of Massachusetts for this fall declares that "the imperialistic spirit must be opposed, at home and abroad," and that "the people of the Philippine Islands should be prepared for speedy self-government, and for ultimate independence under American protection."
- . . . The new Nicaragua canal treaty is reported to be complete. Correspondence concerning it between the British government and ours has ceased. It is said to follow in general the lines of the old treaty, though it is reported to be considerably more favorable to the United States. The nature of the neutrality clause is kept strictly secret for the present. The new treaty will probably be sent to the Senate immediately on the reassembling of Congress.
- . . . The Executive Committee of the Peace Society, London, at its regular meeting on September 20, adopted the following resolution, a copy of which they have sent us: "The Committee of the Peace Society desires to express the deep sympathy felt by all friends of Peace with the American people, in the loss they have sustained by the assassination of President McKinley. In the late President they recognized a man of the highest aims, whose purpose was ever the welfare of his country, and the maintenance of friendly relations with Great Britain."

- . . . Emperor William and Emperor Nicholas met September 11 on board the German imperial yacht "Hohenzollern," at Hela, Prussia. They "remained in animated conversation until luncheon." Nobody knows what they said, or what influence it may have in international affairs. No American reporter was a member of the party.
- Reuter's from St. Petersburg under date of September 9, is not true in the particulars relating to the action of the police: "Just before Count Tolstoy left his residence at Yasnaya Polyana for the Crimea, where he will spend the autumn, the pupils of a young ladies' school came, headed by their mistress, to bid farewell to the illustrious writer, and offer him some flowers. Some young people of the district also took part in this demonstration of sympathy. They were subsequently arrested by the police, and the schoolmistress was dismissed from her post."
- . . . The fake about the finding of ten thousand English sovereigns in an old hulk in Lake Champlain, sunk during the Revolutionary War, has served one good purpose. It has enabled the international lawyers to decide in advance to whom such a treasure-trove would belong. In case, therefore, any such find should be made hereafter, we should not have a casus belli on our hands.
- . . . The United States government has made a tender of good offices to Venezuela and Colombia in the matter of the dispute now pending between them and threatening war.
- . . . The political wiseacres have been unable to tell us exactly the significance of the Czar's visit to France. His Majesty's "call" has immensely pleased the French people, and may result in a good deal more money being loaned to Russia.
- . . . The official returns showed that the South African concentration camps contained in August 137,619 persons. The deaths numbered 2,345, of which 1,878 were those of children. The number of deaths for September is not yet officially given, but it is sure to be not much different from that of August.
- . . . The battle of Santiago is being fought over again in the court of inquiry by officers "ablaze in gold and lace," and the miserable squabble is costing the nation a thousand dollars a day.

Proceedings of the Glasgow Peace Congress.

CONFERENCE OF THE CHURCHES.

The tenth International Peace Congress, as previously announced, opened its sessions at Glasgow, Scotland, on the 10th of September, in Berkeley Hall, St. Andrews Halls, and continued for four days.

The Congress proper was preceded by a Conference of the Churches on the 9th, which proved to be a most profitable occasion. The incoming delegates were given an informal reception and tea on Saturday evening, the 7th. About two hundred persons were present. After a social hour, during which the delegates met and introductions took place, Ex-Mayor Clark of Paisley, president of the West of Scotland Peace and Arbitration Society, took the chair and extended a cordial welcome to the

delegates. Responses were made by Dr. R. H. Thomas of Baltimore, Dr. W. E. Darby of London, B. F. Trueblood and others. The chairman proposed and the meeting cordially approved a resolution of sympathy with Mrs. McKinley and family, on account of the assassination of the President, the news of which had filled the papers that morning.

On Sabbath, the 8th, the subject of peace was discoursed upon in a number of churches of Glasgow. The most important of the sermons delivered was that in the evening by Dr. J. Hunter at Trinity Congregational Church, one of the largest and most influential of the Glasgow churches. Many of the delegates to the Congress were present. The great building was packed to its utmost capacity, and the audience listened with breathless attention to the sermon on "Civilization, Christianity and War," the text of which was: "Nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The discourse was one of the strongest and noblest we have ever heard, and we hope to give it to our readers in full in an early number.

Three sessions of the Peace Conference of the Churches were held on Monday, the 9th. Some two hundred persons, delegates and others, attended the day sessions. The morning meeting was presided over by Mr. Joshua Rowntree of Scarborough, whose loyalty to the principles of peace and justice in the early days of the Boer War brought upon him the destruction of his home by mob violence. His address on opening the Conference was full of clear and unequivocal utterances. He declared that "the chief cause of the feebleness of our religion at the present time is that too many Christians profess one form of belief and practice another." Hence, he said, "It is not to be wondered at that plain men turn away from these inconsistencies and look elsewhere for the heralds of the faith which rings true to the cause of humanity." He urged "more courage, more devotion, more abandonment to the cause of humanity, the cause of peace, because they are the cause of Christ." "The demon of war cannot be exorcised by platitudes or selfish ease, but only by prayer and fasting and suffering." "We are driven," it seemed to him, "to take our choice of two alternatives, either to continue to plant our reliance in international affairs upon the atheism of force, and take its consequences in moral deterioration, or to make up our minds to act towards men as if we really believed that God is wise as well as good, and has given us through the incarnation of Christ powers of love and of spiritual energy sufficient 'to move the world with wisdom, courage and peace."

At the morning session papers on the "Old Testament Teaching on War" were presented by W. C. Braithwaite, Esq., and Miss Frances Thompson, the discussion by Miss Thompson being most clear and discriminating, and endeavoring to show that it was impossible that the God revealed in Jesus Christ could have been the author of some of the things attributed to him in the Old Testament. They must have been human inventions which had been introduced into the record. A paper on the "Retributive Aspect of War," by J. G. Alexander, secretary of the International Law Association, gave rise to a spirited debate, which was participated in by a number of members. The opposition to the position of the

paper held that it was impossible for the God made known in the New Testament to use as a means of retribution, as He uses catastrophes in nature, a thing like war which is essentially and inherently immoral.

The afternoon session was presided over by Dr. R. Spence Watson of Newcastle, who deplored the practical disownment, so prevalent, of the plainest teachings of Christianity. He did not believe that these teachings were impracticable. Such a theory made Christ an impostor. Christ's teachings were as much for nations as for individuals. There was difficulty in carrying them out, but it was poor service to lie down before difficulties. The triumph of the carnal over the spiritual was the death of the soul of a nation. A nation could be saved only by fully and loyally acting upon Christ's teaching.

At this session papers were presented and addresses given on "New Testament Teaching," by J. H. Midgley, J. P., by Dr. R. H. Thomas of Baltimore, on "War and Christian Missions," by Rev. J. M. Elliott of Liverpool, on "The Early Christians and War," by Dr. J. Rendel Harris of Cambridge, and on "The Golden Rule in International Affairs," by B. F. Trueblood. An ambiguous passage in Dr. Thomas's address, on the use of force by Jesus Christ, gave rise to an animated discussion, which was participated in by several members.

The evening meeting of the Conference was held in the great St. Andrews Hall. From a thousand to fifteen hundred people were present. The Lord Provost of the city, Mr. Samuel Chisholm, presided. He was supported on the platform by the Rt. Rev. Bishop Harrison, Rev. Canon Barker of London, Dr. Alexander Mackennal, Dr. Fergus Ferguson, Ex-Mayor Clark of Paisley, Rev. Dr. John Hunter and others. The audience was a very intelligent and sympathetic one. Addresses were made by the Lord Provost, by Canon Barker, Dr. Mackennal, Miss Ellen Robinson, Prof. Silvanus Thompson and B. F. Trueblood.

The Lord Provost, in his opening speech, while expressing a profound appreciation of the principles of peace as the Christian ideal, for whose maintenance faithful efforts ought to be put forth even at times when war was throwing its glamour over men, tried to keep the fundamental question of the unlawfulness of war and the question of the South African War out of the discussion. But Canon Barker, one of the most vigorous of English churchmen, had not been long on his feet until it became clear that these questions, the uppermost in all minds, could not be kept down. He went, in a courteous but vigorous way, straight at the heart of both of them. He found it hard to discuss abstract questions without applying them to concrete facts. He had never met a Christian who would say that war is sanctioned by either the teaching or the example of Christ. When the principles laid down by Christ were once ascertained they ought to be followed at all times. He was firmly convinced that if the world were governed on the principles of human brotherhood, its progress would go on by leaps and bounds. He was not there to dogmatize on the present war, but he was there to say that there were certain principles, Christian and ethical, which it was the duty of good men always to uphold. He was amazed that the country could sit apathetic and read what they had to read day after day, month after month. Twenty years ago the whole country would have been aflame at the horrors that were transpiring. They must try to make every man whom they met hold aloft the pure white flag of peace and brotherhood among men. He could probe no man's conscience, but he could deliver his own soul, and he could see no just cause why a great and powerful nation like theirs should seek to overrun and destroy two free nationalities. This war would show them how horrible war was, and the country would think twice before it launched itself thoughtlessly into another war.

This speech, to whose utterances the audience responded with strong feeling, was followed by one in the same strain by Dr. Mackennal. The last two years had been among the saddest they had ever spent. They were full of painful but, he hoped, profitable lessons. The saddest thing about war was not the deaths, the bereavements, the sufferings: it was the rapid degradation of moral principles which fell upon the nations when they were at war. Things were sanctioned now by speech or silence which years ago the conscience and heart of the nation would not have permitted. Still sadder was it to find that the churches of the living God might be but vain guides in times of great national moral degradation. To affirm that "war was hell" and at the same time that it was "inevitable" was impiety towards God and wrong done to humanity.

The address of Miss Ellen Robinson was full of strong points against the claim that war is necessary and therefore right. Prof. Silvanus Thompson declared that the real point of view from which alone Christians could properly discuss the subject of peace was that of the Sermon on the Mount. There was much heard in the pulpits, on the platform and in the press that was the most amazing inversion of all that they held most dear in the teaching of Christianity. A great ecclesiastic had declared that "never again would the English nation descend to the cowardice of the Sermon on the Mount." That which was wrong in the individual was necessarily wrong in the national life.

B. F. Trueblood, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost for presiding, called attention to the action of the churches in the United States on the Christmas Sunday after the Venezuelan proclamation of President Cleveland, and the immediate resulting change of tone in the press. He expressed his conviction that if the Church only realized its commanding power at the present time, and Christians with one heart and one voice would make their influence felt when the flame of passion is kindling and men begin to shout for war, no war between civilized countries, at least between so-called Christian countries, would any longer be possible.

THE CONGRESS.

The opening meeting of the Congress proper took place on Tuesday morning, the 10th of September, in Berkeley Hall. The Lord Provost was expected to open the Congress, but he was prevented from attending by reason of the ceremony, at the same hour, of presenting the freedom of the city to Mr. Andrew Carnegie.

The meeting was opened by Dr. R. Spence Watson of Newcastle, who welcomed the delegates, who were present to the number of nearly two hundred from England, France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Italy, Swit-

zerland, Denmark, Holland, Persia, and the United States. He spoke of the very dark times through which we are passing, of the humiliation of the South African War, of the swooping down of the Christian powers upon China,—"the most detestable bit of greed recorded in history,"- of the shattering of fondest hopes. But it was encouraging to him to meet so many from different parts of the world, to many of whom the cause of peace was the passion of their lives. The cause for which they were fighting was no failure. The peace party at the time of the Crimean War had since been universally confessed to have been in the right. Where one opposed that war, hundreds opposed the present one. The Hague Conference was not a failure. The mere fact that it had been held was a great triumph. It was the most glorious event of the nineteenth century. When war fever swept over a nation it lost its head, but materialism and brute force were not the idols to which the peoples of the earth would ultimately bow. They would ultimately understand one another, become more and more gifted with the fruit of brotherly love, and arbitration and through it peace would be universal among the nations of the earth.

Responses were then made by delegates from each of the countries represented. Dr. Adolf Richter of Pforzheim spoke for Germany. He said that in spite of the prevailing militarism in his country, the ideas of the peace workers were spreading in all parts of the empire, and that the membership of the German Peace Society and its branches had now grown to more than eight thousand.

Mademoiselle Bajer of Denmark responded for her country. She spoke of the growth of peace among individuals in common life, and believed that the same principles ought to be applied among nations, and that if applied there would be little difficulty in carrying them out.

Senator Don Arturo de Marcoartu, a member of the Interparliamentary Peace Union, and one of the most faithful and indefatigable of the European peace workers, replied for Spain. He said there was much to make them despair, but much also to make them hope. The taking up of the peace cause by such numbers of women was most encouraging. So was the devotion to peace of the laboring classes. He gave an account of the congress of Spanish-speaking peoples held in Madrid last year, and of the resolution there unanimously adopted in favor of treaties of obligatory arbitration.

In presenting to the Congress the greetings of the peace workers in America, B. F. Trueblood said that in the midst of the prevailing discouragements the friends of peace in the United States were full of hopefulness. He did not believe there had been a time since the organization of the peace movement in 1815 when the cause had been so strong, so deep and so widespread. He was not one of those who believed that the Hague Court of Arbitration was destined to come to naught. The government of the United States was strongly committed to the support of the Court, and would use its influence to bring it speedily into operation. The friends of peace in his country were working faithfully to this end. The annual Lake Mohonk Arbitration Conference had at its recent meeting taken strong action in this sense.

He called attention to the forthcoming Pan-American Conference to meet in October in the city of Mexico, through which the friends of peace hoped that a general arbitration treaty might be agreed upon by the nineteen American republics, pledging them to submit all their differences to the Hague Court. He hoped that thus the seventeen American states which were not signatories of the Hague Convention might secure admission to the The rank and file of the American people were in sincere sympathy with the Hague tribunal. He did not believe that war could be done away at once, but the conditions of its abolishment were being created, and some day the great object would be attained.

Madame Waszklewicz, from The Hague, responded for Holland. She had come to protest against war in general and against the Transvaal War in particular, but so deeply had the latter subject taken possession of her that she could not trust herself to speak with moderation. She therefore contented herself with bringing the greetings and sympathy of the friends of peace in the Netherlands, especially to the friends of peace in England, who had with great courage under difficult circumstances

been setting an example to them all.

Mr. Fracelli, in responding for Italy, said that the peace movement was continually spreading and gaining strength in his country. There were peace societies in a number of towns, and he hoped that soon another peace congress might be held in Rome. Italy, the Minister of War had recently said, had contributed to the maintenance of the peace of Europe, because she formed part of the Triple Alliance. He hoped that the War Minister might soon be able to say that Italy had helped to maintain the peace of the world because she had joined the peace organization of the world rather than any special alliance.

Mr. Frederic Passy, in representing the French peace workers, though eighty years of age, spoke with all his wonted earnestness and eloquence. He was glad to see again many whom he had seen at Paris last year. The majority of the French people, as had been seen at the Exposition, believed that true progress was best promoted by respecting the independence and institutions of other peoples. Throughout France there was a deep feeling of regret at the deplorable war in South Africa, but no real animosity towards the English people. They felt sorry that the British nation was involved in such a war fever, but the French nation had suffered from similar moral epidemics. They knew that at bottom the English people were devoted to liberty and justice. When the reaction took place England would be England once more — the land of freedom and liberty. He gave a most interesting account of the peace movement in France the past year; of the banquet on the 22d of February, which was participated in by the four French members of the Hague Court; of the strong peace resolutions voted at the Radical and Socialist Congresses; of the changed attitude of the French government in regard to education, the French children being now taught to respect the institutions of other peoples rather than to feel contempt for them, as formerly. This, he said, was the most significant of all the changes which had come to France.

Mr. J. Novicow, speaking for Russia, said that there was no real antagonism between England and Russia; they were not natural enemies, as was often asserted; all the existing antagonism was the result of phantasies and had no basis in fact. The Russian people were the most peaceful in Europe, both for moral and material reasons. They were a poor people and were naturally anxious to find means of subsistence, and took no interest in foreign expeditions and ambitious political enterprises.

Dr. Bovet, a Swiss delegate, said that in Switzerland all were friends of peace. He hoped that the great states of Europe might follow the example of Switzerland, become federated, and that thus a higher patriotism might

be developed — the patriotism of humanity.

Mr. Felix Moscheles, speaking for England, expressed his great confidence in the International Tribunal which had been set up at The Hague. He had had interviews with Mr. White, American Ambassador at Berlin, and other prominent men, and knew that these were all deeply devoted to the cause of arbitration, and that they much

appreciated the work of the peace societies.

After these responses, the report of the International Peace Bureau at Berne on the events of the year was read by Mr. Emile Arnaud. It dwelt on the discouraging events which had taken place, on the final constitution of the Hague Court of Arbitration, on the efforts of the Bureau to bring the South African War to an end through the medium of the Court, on the progress of the peace movement during the year, and on the necessity of the substitution for force in international affairs of a permanent system of law and justice.

The Congress then proceeded to complete its organization by the appointment of one member from each country represented to serve as a vice-president, and by the constitution of three committees to study the various propositions submitted, to draft resolutions and other-

wise prepare the business.

AFTERNOON.

There was no session of the Congress in the afternoon. The committees met and spent the time in studying the questions submitted to them, and in laying out work for the coming days.

EVENING RECEPTION.

In the evening the Congress was given a reception by the Lord Provost and Corporation of the city in the Municipal Building. It was a very generous and brilliant affair. More than seven hundred guests were present. For three-quarters of an hour the Lord Provost in his robes of office, attended by the other city officials, received. Then all assembled in the Great Hall, and the Lord Provost welcomed them in a most appropriate address, in which he expressed the assurance that all of them "wished, longed and prayed" for the realization of the great ideal of human brotherhood and universal peace for which the Congress was laboring. Responses were made by Dr. Darby and B. F. Trueblood, and brief remarks were made by Principal Hutton of Paisley, in which he expressed the belief that Providence was leading the nations along the lines of peace; that even the great armaments, through the fear which they inspired, might help in the promotion of peace. A program of music was then rendered, and refreshments were served in about a dozen different parts of the great building. The staircases and corridors were decorated with plants

and flowers. The members of the Congress and their friends were greatly impressed with the cordiality and generousness of the reception.

THE SECOND DAY.

The Congress resumed its sittings on Wednesday, the 11th of September, at 10 o'clock, with Dr. R. Spence Watson in the chair. The Committee on Current Questions, through Mr. Novicow, brought forward the Armenian question, and asked the Congress to pass a resolution asking the governments who were guarantors of the Treaty of Berlin to make a united effort to put an end to the cruelties systematically committed upon the Christian nation of Armenia. Mr. Novicow in presenting the resolution remarked that the mistrust of the powers towards one another had proved very disastrous to the Christian populations in the East. An earnest debate arose on the resolution, several members objecting that a peace congress ought not to advise a course which would almost inevitably eventuate in war. Others maintained that the resolution had in view only moral pressure, and it was finally passed by a large majority. The debate was participated in by Mr. Novicow, Mr. Joseph Sturge, Rev. Sprigg Smith, two Armenians, - Mr. Arakelian and Miss Giragosiare, — and others.

The question of an auxiliary international language, left over from the Paris Congress last year, was then taken up. The report, presented by Mr. Ruyssen of France, went into considerable explanation as to what such a language should be. Strong objections were made by a number of members to going into so unpractical a subject. The Congress had better give its attention to arbitration, etc. Among the speakers were W. P. Byles, M. P., of Bradford, Gaston Moch of Paris, Mrs. Mead from Boston and Mr. Passy, who observed that the unification of money and of weights and measures was one of the most important items on the program of the peace societies. At the end of the discussion a resolution in very general terms was voted, inviting study of the question. AFTERNOON SESSION.

In the absence of the chairman, B. F. Trueblood was asked to preside at the afternoon session.

The subject of a closer union among the peace societies and more concerted action in their labors was brought forward in an address by Mr. Felix Moscheles, who argued that both effort and money were wasted through lack of union and coöperation of the societies in the same country. His proposition was supported by Mr. Byles, who thought the body of peace workers much larger than generally supposed, and by Mr. Passy, who thought that the suggestion should be carefully studied and a report made from the different countries to the Berne Bureau. At the end of the discussion, which was shared in by a number of others, a resolution was voted appointing a small committee, with power to add to their numbers, to study the subject the coming year.

The next subject considered was that of war and Christianity. This was introduced in a very able address by Miss Ellen Robinson of Liverpool, who proposed the following resolution:

"Seeing that the governments of almost all European and American states profess to base their rule on Christian ethics; "Seeing that these ethics forbid all hatred, violence, and injustice between man and man, and enjoin brotherhood, sympathy and love; "This Congress is of opinion that persistent efforts should be made to bring home the above-mentioned truths to the rulers and citizens of these states, in order to convince them that war and militarism are absolutely opposed to the teaching and spirit of Christ. It especially calls upon Christian ministers and workers to aid in these efforts."

This resolution, which was finally passed with but one vote against it, was the occasion of one of the finest discussions in the Congress. It was opposed by Mr. Gaston Moch of Paris, a non-Christian, who argued in a very frank but courteous way that the Congress should remain absolutely neutral on religious matters if they wished to have unity in their work. The resolution was earnestly supported by Mr. Novicow, the Abbé Pichot, Mr. Kellerman, Professor Quidde of Munich, Mr. Passy, Mr. Arnaud, Dr. Richard H. Thomas, Rev. Sprigg Smith, some of whom shared Mr. Moch's non-Christian views, but nearly all of whom felt that the Christian Church had woefully failed in its duty, and that it ought to be appealed to to stand by its own professed principles.

After the vote on Miss Robinson's resolution, the following resolution, offered by Mr. Emile Arnaud, was also passed:

"Considering that morality is one and universal, and that it forbids all hate, all violence, and all injustice between man and man, and that it enjoins or commands fraternity and love, the Congress believes that persistent efforts should be made to induce governments and citizens of all states to conform to the great moral law, and therefore declare themselves against war and militarism; and the Congress appeals to all the educators of all countries, and all races, and all beliefs."

EVENING MEETING IN PAISLEY.

In the evening a public meeting was held in the Clark Town Hall of Paisley, a city of eighty thousand people only eight miles out from Glasgow. It was attended by some six hundred persons, the majority of whom were workingmen, and proved to be one of the most useful of all the meetings during the Congress. Addresses were made by Provost Wilson, who presided, by Edwin D. Mead of Boston, whose speech took powerful hold of the working men, by Miss Ellen Robinson, Miss Priscilla H. Peckover, Mr. Frederic Passy, Ex-Provost Clark, Dr. Darby and Mrs. Bradlaugh-Bonnar. The applause was frequent and hearty, and the audience showed their profound sympathy with the speakers' arraignment of war and the vast burdens imposed by it on the people.

THIRD DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The proceedings of the third day of the Congress were opened on Thursday morning at 10 o'clock, with Sir Joseph Pease, M. P., president of the English Peace Society, in the chair. The chairman, in his opening remarks, said he believed there never had been a war which could not have been avoided with tact and good temper. The preparations for war, the evil of large standing armies in time of peace, the horrors of war, the detriment of the war spirit to the nations, were all things greatly to be regretted. All economy was against war; war was opposed to all morality. War lowered the whole tone of society. The jingo spirit attached to war was a devilish one, and did away with what was most essential in the moral and Christian progress of nations. He had been a member of the House of Commons for many years, and he made bold to say that the feeling against war there was never stronger than now.

This day proved to be the center of interest of the entire proceedings. The whole subject of arbitration in its various aspects was brought forward in the report of the committee on Questions of International Law. The report was presented in French by Mr. Arnaud and in English by Mr. J. G. Alexander. Mr. Arnaud's address, in presenting the report, was a very able though rather long one. The report proposed two sets of resolutions, the substance of which was:

Deep satisfaction at the definite constitution of the Hague Court; that in the future every dispute not adjustable by diplomacy or the other pacific methods indicated in the Hague Convention should be referred to the Court; that, as suggested in Article 19 of the Hague Convention, special permanent arbitration treaties of an obligatory character should be concluded between the nations; that such treaties should be forthwith concluded between the nineteen American republics whose representatives were about to assemble in conference in the city of Mexico, and between Great Britain and France, Great Britain and the United States, and France and Russia, as being in a favorable position to enter into such treaties; that the Hague tribunal should be put into operation as early as possible; that the Hague conventions should be declared open to all states; that disarmament should be looked upon as a result of the organization of peace rather than as a means thereto; and that the peace societies in no sense deserved to be considered antipatriotic, as they were frequently charged with being.

W. T. Stead moved, in an impassioned speech, that the following resolution be added to those just passed, as they appealed, uselessly, he thought, to governments. The people, he said, must be appealed to, and an explosion of public opinion secured. If the Peace Congress did not explode, how could an explosion among the people be expected? He moved that—

"The Hague Conference having recommended four different methods of avoiding war, which are (1) mediation, (2) international commissions, (3) special commissions and (4) arbitration pure and simple, the Congress declares that any state which refuses to adopt any one of these when proffered by its opponent loses its right to be regarded as a civilized power, and such country is excommunicate of humanity; that while war lasts no public religious service of any kind should be held that is not opened by a confession of blood-guiltiness on the part of that state, and closed by a solemn appeal on the part of the congregations to the government to stop the war by the adoption of the Hague methods."

This resolution brought the Congress to the boiling point, practically all the members being in sympathy with Mr. Stead's indirect condemnation of the British government, but most of them being opposed to the extravagant terms in which the resolution was drawn, especially the "excommunication" part of it. Dr. Darby, in a short, cool speech, told the Congress it had better not explode, but act with dignity. Their views on the war were well known. Their words would be infinitely more effective if they were calm and dignified. They ought not to appeal to the exploded system of the Church and attempt to excommunicate those differing from them. After discussion by Mr. Thomas Wright of Birmingham, Professor Quidde and Sir Joseph Pease, the Congress adjourned for luncheon.

AFTERNOON SESSION.

When the afternoon session opened, Mrs. Mead of Boston moved that the words after "opponent" be stricken out and the following substituted:

"has forfeited one of the primary claims to be regarded as a civilized nation, and that every citizen who consents to such a position on the part of his government shares in the guilt of the war which may ensue."

Dr. Darby heartily accepted the resolution in that form; Mr. Stead was "quite agreeable to the alteration," though he thought the original form "more vigorous and picturesque"; and the resolution was put in the amended form and unanimously passed.

In speaking on the above resolution, Professor Quidde said he was glad of the opportunity to say that the German condemnation of England for refusing arbitration in the South African difficulty did not arise out of Anglophobia. The German people were not actuated by any sort of general antagonism to Great Britain. They recognized that Great Britain had been the birthplace of civil liberty, the asylum of political and religious refugees from all parts of the world. German reformers had considered the example of England one to be followed in Germany. English literature was as well known in Germany as in England. They condemned England only because she was untrue to herself.

A series of resolutions drawn by Mr. John de Bloch was then, with little discussion, voted. They recommended an impartial inquiry in different countries by military men, politicians, economists, merchants and statisticians, into the economic results of warfare under present conditions. They maintained, as Mr. Bloch has contended in his great work on the "Future of War," that improvements in arms tend to produce a deadlock in warfare, as proved in the South African War; that decisive results can be obtained only by the exhaustion of the combatants; that the economic effects of such prolonged warfare must result in famine, discontent and misery, and finally in revolution; and that, as nothing can be expected of the military and governing classes, the masses of the people must be impressed with the belief that war under modern conditions is "both impossible and unprofitable," and therefore that peace is an absolute necessity.

On the subject of missionaries and their dangers, a resolution drawn by the committee on Questions of the Day was introduced and voted, earnestly recommending that, though it was the duty of governments to protect its law-abiding citizens residing abroad, "missionaries should rigorously abstain from all action which can even indirectly expose their country to war; should refrain from appealing to their governments to avenge their wrongs; and should rely on the well-recognized power of disinterested effort, and not upon military force, which must always be a hindrance to their service."

EVENING AT THE EXPOSITION.

Thursday evening was spent by many of the delegates in a visit to the Exposition, during which they took tea together at one of the restaurants on the grounds. A number of the delegates also were present by invitation at a dinner at 6.30 o'clock given by Mr. Stead at the Russian restaurant, and honored by the presence of the Russian Commissioner to the Exposition.

LAST DAY'S PROCEEDINGS.

The last session of the Congress began at 10 o'clock, on Friday, the 13th, Sir Joseph Pease presiding.

Invitations were read from Berlin, from Vienna and from Toulouse, for the holding of the next Peace Congress.

After some discussion on the subject, Mr. Mead of Boston moved that the subject be left in the hands of the International Peace Bureau at Berne, suggesting at the same time that if the Congress did not meet again till 1903, it might be most desirable for it to go to St. Louis at the time of the great Exposition to be held there. The motion prevailed.

Mr. J. G. Alexander, for the Committee on International Law, moved a resolution, which was unanimously adopted, expressing the desirability of inserting arbitral clauses in all commercial treaties, and noting with satisfaction that several governments have already acted in this sense.

A resolution was moved by M. Aubrey, urging the creation of unofficial Commissions of Inquiry, similar to those indicated in the Hague Convention, to investigate cases of international misunderstanding where nothing had been officially done. This subject, which had been before former peace congresses and in some measure approved, was referred to the Berne Bureau for further study as to its practicability.

The following resolution on the education of children, originating with the Society of Friends, and supported by two or three English peace societies, was presented by Miss Cook:

"The Congress recommends, in the interests of peace by means of education, that prizes be offered to the children and young people in the public schools and colleges and in private schools, for compositions dealing with the peace question or any other subject whose direct or indirect aim is the creation of just and friendly relations among different races and nations. This recommendation is particularly made to those teachers who are free to arrange their curriculum; if such is not the case, the prizes may be offered for essays written during other than school hours. History, extracted from manuals chosen with much care; comparative descriptions of the manners and customs of the different peoples, edited in a large and liberal spirit; accounts of journeys made in this same spirit; novels such as 'Lay Down Your Arms,' which depict in bold relief the evils of war,—all these writings may be utilized for young boys and girls able to understand them, whilst for children of a lower age use can be made of oral explanations and lectures with lantern slides."

After remarks by Mr. Edwin D. Mead, in which he deplored the utterly false teaching of history in school books, especially in those in the United States in treating of American relations to England, and urged a new, progressive and scientific teaching of history, the resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. G. H. Perris, Editor of *Concord*, moved for the International Arbitration and Peace Association the following resolutions, which were heartily approved:

"The Congress records its humble admiration for the splendid example of the Doukhobortsi in Russia, and small groups of men in other continental countries; and its gratitude for the genius and devotion which one of the greatest of living writers, Count Leo Tolstoy, has given to the support of the pacific idea as he sees it. The Congress also expresses the hope that the British people, now lying under the threat of conscription, will awake to the meaning of barrack-slavery ere it is too late. It believes that by refusing all plans of compulsory military service, the British people would give a great impetus, both in this and other countries, toward a further consideration of the proposal for an arrest of armaments, already partly discussed by the envoys of the powers gathered at The Hague."

Mr. Felix Moscheles introduced the following resolution on dueling, which the Congress promptly voted:

"The Congress has heard with pleasure of the propaganda against dueling that is being carried on by Don Alfonso in Austria and by Fürst von Löwenstein in Germany, and it cordially supports agitation against dueling in all countries."

The subject of an International Fête of the peace societies on the 18th of May, the anniversary of the opening of the Hague Conference, introduced by M. Gaston Moch of Paris, was on motion of Dr. Darby referred to the Berne Bureau. A similar course was pursued with a resolution on Free Trade, which was thought to be too debatable a subject to be acted on without time for discussion.

On motion of Mr. J. Fred Green the Congress unanimously resolved to send a message of appreciation to Mr. Elie Ducommun, for his distinguished gratuitous services for ten years as General Secretary of the International Peace Bureau.

The last business on the program was the Congress's annual appeal to the nations. It was read by Mr. Novicow, and was, after some remarks by Mr. Stead on the latter part of it, adopted by unanimous and enthusiastic vote.

APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

"The tenth Congress of the Peace Societies of the whole world, met at Glasgow from the 10th to the 13th of September, 1901, cannot close its work without clearly indicating the present direction of the pacific movement. European societies of the present day incline more and more towards democracy. The welfare of the wage-earning classes is beginning to occupy the first place among the cares of politicians, and astute diplomatic combination the last. The problem of poverty looms large. We are beginning clearly to see that the only way to procure for the people an existence worthy of the name is to put an end to international anarchy. The question of the wellbeing of the industrial classes is bound up inseparably with that of the existence of legal relations between the civilized nations. By continuing the present condition of international anarchy, not only are millions upon millions of pounds sunk in absolutely unproductive military expenditure, but men are hindered from turning to account the enormous wealth contained in our earth. The hostility of nations everywhere raises barriers to the movements of workmen and to commercial intercourse. Production being far less than it ought to be, poverty prevails. The time is come when the people must understand that the question of peace is a question of bread. Just as the great Cobden was able to bring about the triumph of Free Trade when he presented it in a clear and striking manner, even so the pacific movement will acquire an irresistible force when the masses of the people are made to understand that the suppression of poverty is only possible by the establishment of a judicial union among the civilized peoples. Passing to another consideration, and in view of the events of recent years, as well as of the dark clouds shadowing the immediate future, the Congress believes it useful once more solemnly to affirm the general principle laid down by the Peace Congress held in Rome in 1891. 'The right of conquest has no moral existence. The peoples have an inalienable right freely to dispose of themselves. The autonomy of nations is inviol-

After votes of thanks to the Corporations of Glasgow and Paisley for their generous reception of the Congress, to the Presidents, and to the Committee of Organization for its services in making the arrangements for the meetings, the Congress was declared closed.

AFTERNOON EXCURSION.

After a luncheon at one o'clock in a room adjoining the Congress hall, the members went on an excursion for the afternoon to the Kyles of Bute, a most picturesque and fascinating group of islands and channels at the western extremity of an inlet of the Frith of Clyde. On their return they enjoyed together a banquet in the Congress hall, which was presided over by Lord Provost Chisholm. Postprandial speeches, about anything at all remotely related to peace and the work of the Congress, were indulged in for an hour or more,—by the

Lord Provost, Mr. Moscheles, Mrs. Mead, Mr. J. F. Green, B. F. Trueblood and others,—and then the banqueters separated, and the tenth Universal Peace Congress had passed into history.

Appeal of the South African Republics to the Hague Court.

The following is the appeal of the plenipotentiaries of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State to the Administrative Council of the Permanent Arbitration Court at The Hague. It was handed to the Council on the 10th of September:

"The undersigned plenipotentiaries of the South African Republic and plenipotentiaries of the Orange Free State, acting on behalf of both these states, have the honor to bring the following to your notice:

"Under date of the 9th of April last, the then chairman of your Council communicated to the representatives of both states that the permanent Court of Arbitration had been constituted.

"Attention was thereby specially called to the proviso in the Hague convention of July 29, 1899, for the peaceful settlement of international differences, whereby the jurisdiction of the permanent court could be extended to differences between powers which had not become signatories, as also between powers which had become and those which had not become signatories.

"Immediately on the receipt of this communication, notification was made, on behalf of the governments of both states represented by the undersigned, to his Excellency, the then president of your Council, that these governments would be pleased if the war being waged in South Africa could be terminated by the arbitrament of this court.

"Now that this war has gone on for nearly two years without any prospects of an end thereto, except in the way only recently acknowledged as being the most efficacious and at the same time the most equitable means of deciding international differences, to wit, submission to arbitration, the desirability, mutually, for such a peaceful termination cannot but become more and more acknowledged.

"The states represented by the undersigned, therefore, consider that they should repeat the proposal already made by them before, but rejected by England, to submit to arbitration the settlement of the differences which gave rise to the war.

"In this they particularly have in view the question whether England is right in alleging that any action was taken by the republics which had for its object the suppression of the English element in or its expulsion from South Africa, and generally whether the republics have made themselves guilty of an act which, according to internationally recognized principles, would give England the right to deprive them of their independence.

"They repeat the proposal formerly made with all the more confidence now that the permanent court of arbitration has been called into existence on the proposition of England herself, and that the chairman of your Council has deemed fit to call their attention to the hereinbefore-alluded-to Article 26 of the Hague convention.

"The undersigned, moreover, allege that England at the outbreak of the war commenced, and has ever since continued, to act in contravention of the rules of war between civilized powers as generally, and also by England herself, acknowledged, and as solemnly confirmed by the Hague convention of July 29, 1899, concerning the laws and usages of war by land, and more particularly in contravention of the following articles of the said rules, to wit:

"Articles 4, 5, 7, 14, 15, 16, 23 (and thereof the subsections C, D, E, F, G), 25, 28, 32, 44, 45, 46, 47, 50, 52, 53 and 55, whilst England has moreover, quite recently, by proclamation issued by Field Marshal Lord Kitchener, at Pretoria, and dated the 7th day of August, 1901, virtually notified that she intends shortly to take action in contravention of Article 20 also.

"The governments of the states represented by the undersigned are fully prepared, as soon as an opportunity thereto shall be afforded them, to substantiate the allegations herein made by setting forth and proving the particular facts to which they refer.

"Since England sees fit to deny the continual violation of the laws of warfare, the states represented by the undersigned consider that they may also, in regard to this difference, seek a decision of the permanent court of arbitration.

"The undersigned and their governments are aware that in order to obtain such a decision the consent of England is required.

"They therefore take the liberty of soliciting your Council to apply for such consent or to endeavor to obtain the same by your mediation or that of the governments represented by you.

"They feel themselves all the more encouraged to make this request since it quite accords with the grand principle on which Article 27 of the said convention is based

"Should the English government give an unfavorable reply, it will thereby be manifest that they dare not submit themselves to the judgment of a conscientious, learned and impartial tribunal.

"They will then, moreover, continue to bear the responsibility for the prolongation of a war as terrible as it is unnecessary, and they will tacitly have acknowledged that the manner in which they have carried on the war is in conflict with the demands of humanity and civilization as confirmed by themselves.

"In the hope that it may please you to give effect to their request, and therefore to accord your mediation or assistance in a matter of such urgency, they tender you the assurance of their sincere esteem.

"[Signed] W. J. LEYDS,

A. D. W. Wolmarans, "Plenipotentiaries of the South African Republic.

A. FISHER, C. H. WESSELS,

"Plenipotentiaries of the Orange Free State."

Letters of the Chinese and German Emperors in Regard to the Murder of Baron von Ketteler.

On the visit of Prince Chun, the brother of the Chinese Emperor, to Emperor William, to apologize for the murder of the German ambassador in Peking, the following letters were exchanged: